

allow the situation to get even further out of hand.

In Iraq, troubling questions have been raised about an unwillingness to deal with continued Iraqi intransigence over weapons inspections. Russia's economy and indeed her very government appear on the verge of dissolution. North Korea has launched a long range missile right over our ally, Japan. In China and elsewhere, many tens of thousands of people face the coming winter hungry and homeless as a result of floods and fires and droughts. And, not least, acts of terrorism against U.S. embassies and interests continue to threaten. All of these unhappy circumstances will challenge the U.S. economy and U.S. leadership. It ill behooves us all to become so enmeshed in the current web of scandal that we ignore or obscure opportunities to deal with these serious challenges before they escalate into full-blown crises.

We cannot continue to swirl in this miasma of misery if we are to judiciously carry out our duties as the representatives of the people. Impeachment is among the most serious, if not the most serious, duty meted out to us in the Constitution that we are sworn to support and defend. Let us wait for the facts to come out before we rush to judgment as to the action we should take. Let us wait for the House to determine those facts from the report that will shortly be presented to it. And then, hopefully, we can all see what the facts are.

There are serious challenges to our nation ahead. Here in the Senate, we may be called upon to help restore such forgotten qualities as courage, integrity, dignity, fairness, and thoughtfulness to a situation marked, for the most part, by the absence of those characteristics. For my part, I shall pray that we who serve here will do our best to restore the sense of serious contemplation and quiet duty expected of us under the Constitution and by the good people of this nation during times of testing and crisis.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas.

Mr. GRAMM. Mr. President, I wanted to respond, if I might, for just a minute, to Senator BYRD. First of all, I would like to thank him for the lesson of his speech today. Our founders did not write the Constitution and then sit down and wonder about what they would do about corruption in public men. In fact, when they wrote the Constitution the first power enumerated for the House of Representatives in the Constitution is the power to impeach. This was no afterthought. When the founders wrote, in article I, section 3, about the first power of the Senate, it was the power to try all impeachments. So Senator BYRD, I would like to thank you for reminding us that this is a high constitutional responsibility.

None of us will be judged based on what the President did or did not do,

but we will be judged on what we do or what we do not do. One of the quotes from the Federalist Paper No. 65, from Alexander Hamilton, that you did not use, which I think defines the role you have taken in this debate, is the line where Hamilton sees a Senate which is "unawed and uninfluenced." I think your lesson today to us is we should be unawed, but we should also be uninfluenced. And I can say that if I were to be tried in the Senate, if I were innocent, I would look to Senator BYRD as my greatest hope; if I were guilty, I would look to him as my greatest fear.

Finally, before yielding the floor, the Senator asked, Where are the heroes? I would like to say that for those who know him, ROBERT C. BYRD is a hero. When I think of great men and women who have sat in this body as Senators whose names you might want to put up next to Cicero and Cato, I include the name of ROBERT C. BYRD on that list. I am very proud to serve in the Senate with him.

I think his comments today really reflect on the posture that the Senate should take. I have no doubt that Senator BYRD will take that posture. I intend to do my best to take it as well. I yield the floor.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator for his words, which I take very seriously, and for his kindness, as always, to me.

I hope that I have spoken wisely. I hope that I will not be misunderstood. I simply think that before we reach a judgment on this President or any other President—and I said this when Mr. Nixon was in the docks, as it were—I hope that we Senators will not advocate impeachment or censure or resignation at least until the Starr report has reached the House and the House has had an opportunity to conduct hearings, if it so chooses, and has formulated articles, if it so chooses. There will be plenty of time then for Senators to reach that judgment. In the meantime, we have much to do. I thank the distinguished Senator.

Mr. FEINGOLD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I appreciate the remarks of the Senator from West Virginia, obviously, as fundamental a matter as we can have before us, but I share the Senator's view that prior to the release of the report, there are many matters that need our attention. First on that list is what we have been debating today and will be debating tomorrow, and that is the extremely urgent need to pass campaign finance reform.

#### THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Tuesday, September 8, 1998, the federal debt stood at \$5,548,700,311,164.48 (Five trillion, five hundred forty-eight billion, seven hundred million, three hundred eleven thousand, one hundred sixty-four dollars and forty-eight cents).

One year ago, September 8, 1997, the federal debt stood at \$5,411,319,000,000 (Five trillion, four hundred eleven billion, three hundred nineteen million).

Five years ago, September 8, 1993, the federal debt stood at \$4,391,317,000,000 (Four trillion, three hundred ninety-one billion, three hundred seventeen million).

Ten years ago, September 8, 1988, the federal debt stood at \$2,605,450,000,000 (Two trillion, six hundred five billion, four hundred fifty million).

Fifteen years ago, September 8, 1983, the federal debt stood at \$1,355,323,000,000 (One trillion, three hundred fifty-five billion, three hundred twenty-three million) which reflects a debt increase of more than \$4 trillion—\$4,193,377,311,164.48 (Four trillion, one hundred ninety-three billion, three hundred seventy-seven million, three hundred eleven thousand, one hundred sixty-four dollars and forty-eight cents) during the past 15 years.

#### COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, I want to commend to my colleagues the exceptionally thoughtful lead editorial in yesterday morning's Washington Post. It is entitled "The Test Ban and Arms Control," and it makes some cogent points about the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty and a Senate where few objections are raised to the Treaty itself, but most Republicans still cast symbolic votes against it.

The Post notes correctly that leading Senate Republicans seem to assume that a national missile defense is the only answer to the problems of nuclear proliferation and the risk of nuclear war.

As the Post concludes, however, treaties like the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty "are capable of serving American requirements well." Whatever one's views on national missile defense, those treaties "would strengthen the American position in the world."

I would note two areas in which I disagree with the Post editorial. First of all, the Test-Ban Treaty was signed 2 years ago, rather than "earlier this year." The Treaty was submitted to the Senate nearly a full year ago, and has languished because the Republican leadership is afraid to let it come up.

I do not accept the Post's pessimistic view, moreover, of the Test-Ban Treaty's chances on the floor. In last week's vote, moderate Republicans could support their Leader without doing any tangible harm.

When the Test-Ban Treaty finally comes up for a vote on ratification, however, I am confident that at least 67 members will support it, just as they supported the Chemical Weapons Convention last year.

With those two caveats, I strongly urge my colleagues to read Tuesday's Post editorial and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.